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Only one other book of al-Hamdānī, *K. al-Djawharatayn al-ʿatīkatayn*, on the two precious metals gold and silver, has been preserved and is being edited by Toll in Uppsala. Of the astrological work *Sarāʾir al-hikma* a fragment has recently come to light (v. supra). Of the remaining works attributed to al-Hamdānī nothing has been recovered so far; some of these are cited in the *Iklīl*. Their titles are: (1) *al-Siyar wa'l-ahhbār* (= *Iklīl* iii-v?), (2) *Ayyām al-ʿarab*, (3) *al-Yaʿsūb* (on shooting and hunting), (4) *al-Kuwā* (on medicine), (5) *al-Zīdī* (astronomical tables), (6) *al-Ṭālīʿ wa'l-maʿāriḥ* (mentioned only in Kiftī's *Inbāḥ*).

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B. Biography: Šāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 58-9; al-Kiftī, *Ṭaʾrīḫ al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 163; idem, *Inbāḥ al-ruwāḥ ʿalā anbāḥ al-nuḥāḥ*, ed. Muḥ. Abu l-ʿAḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1369, I, 279-284 (main biographical source); Yākūt, *Irshād al-arīb* (GMS VI), iii, 1, 9; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāḥ*, Cairo 1326, 217 (from *Khazraḍī*); short biographies in Firūzābādī's *K. al-Bulgha fi taʾrīḫ aʾimmat al-lughā* (Berl. Ahlw. 10060, f. 63 b) and Ibn ʿAzm's *Dustūr al-iʿlām* (Berl. Ahlw. 9876/7, f. 50 b).

C. Editions and translations: (1) *Šifa: Al-Hamdānī's Geographie der arab. Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller, i-ii, Leiden 1884-1891; L. Forrer, *Südarabien nach al-Hamdānī's "Beschreibung der arab. Halbinsel"*, Leipzig 1942 = Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXVII/3 (partial translation); (2) *Iklīl*: i-ii (and *al-Kašida al-Dāmīgha*): Facsimile edition, Berlin 1943; i: ed. O. Löfgren, fasc. 1-2 (Uppsala 1954/65) = Bibliotheca Ekmanniana 58; ed. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963; ii (last section) ed. Löfgren: al-Hamdānī, *Südarabisches Muṣṭabih*, Uppsala 1954 = Bibl. Ekmanniana 57; viii: D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen u. Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklīl des Hamdānī*, i-ii, Vienna 1879-81 = *SBAk. Wien*, phil.-hist. Classe, xciv-xcvii; idem, *Auszüge aus dem VIII. Buche des Iklīl*, Vienna 1899 = *Südarab. Alterthümer im Kunsthist. Hofmuseum*, 80-95; ed. Anastās Mārī al-Karmālī, Baghdād 1931; ed. Nabih Amin Faris, Princeton 1940; idem, *The antiquities of South Arabia* (translation), Princeton 1938 = *Princeton Oriental Texts*, iii; x: ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1368/1949 (O. LÖFGREN).

HAMDĀNIDS, three families of the Banū Hamdān whose tribal rule over Ṣanʿāʾ and its dependencies extended from 481-570/1088-1175. Throughout Yemen's long history of political anarchy, the large and powerful tribe of Hamdān [q.v.], many of whose members were *Shīʿī*, either of the Zaydī or Ismāʿīlī sect, often imposed their rule over Ṣanʿāʾ and its environs whenever there was a decline of a larger dynastic state. Such was the case with the weakening of the Ṣulayḥid [q.v.] dynasty, whose members were of a sub-tribe of the Hamdān, towards the end of the 5th/11th century.

Upon the transfer of the capital of the Ṣulayḥid

state from Ṣanʿāʾ to *Dhū Dīb* in 481/1088-89 by the second ruler of this Fātimid dynasty, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, ʿImrān b. al-Faḍl, one of the leaders of the Banū Hamdān from the sub-tribe of al-Yām, and Asʿad b. *Shihāb*, maternal uncle of al-Mukarram Aḥmad, were appointed as the Ṣulayḥid governors over Ṣanʿāʾ. On the death of al-Manṣūr Sabā, the third Ṣulayḥid ruler, in 492/1098-99, and the resultant decline of his state, the rule of Ṣanʿāʾ passed more directly into the hands of the Banū Hamdān in the person of Ḥātim b. al-Ḡhaṣīm al-Mughallāsī.

Ḥātim died four years later and was succeeded by his second son, ʿAbd Allāh. Intratribal strife, perhaps in part caused by sectarian differences, began, with control of Ṣanʿāʾ as the prize; only two years after ʿAbd Allāh came into power, and although he was recognized as a just ruler, he was killed by poison in 504/1110-11. He in turn was succeeded by his younger brother, Maʿn b. Ḥātim. By now the dissension in the tribe had reached full force, with the elders, led by the *Kāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, son of the former Ṣulayḥid governor, ranged against Maʿn while a large group of the tribe came to his support. At length, in 510/1116, Maʿn was deposed and imprisoned by the *Kāḍī* Aḥmad, and the tribal control of the city passed into the hands of another Hamdānid family.

Hiṣḥām b. Kuḇayb (not Kuḇbayt as in Lane-Poole) b. Rusaḥ and his brother, al-Ḥumās, ruled in succession for the next seventeen years (the year of Hiṣḥām's death is not known). Upon the demise of al-Ḥumās, in 527/1132-33, he was followed by his son Ḥātim. With the continuance of tribal discord the Ṣanʿānis rose in revolt and deposed Ḥātim in favour of Ḥamid al-Dawla Ḥātim, the son of the *Kāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, in 533/1138-39. He is reported to have entered Ṣanʿāʾ with 700 Hamdānid horsemen in support of his régime.

By this time Yemen had reverted to its usual state of political and religious anarchy with the main towns and districts of both the coast and the highlands in the hands of local independent rulers, a condition ripe for the rise of religious reformers and adventurers. One of these reformers was the Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad, a direct descendant in the sixth generation from al-Ḥādī ila l-Ḥaḳḳ Yahyā, the founder of the Zaydī sect in the Yemen. Al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad, rising in 532/1137-38, proclaimed his leadership of the Zaydīs in their chief centre, Ṣaʿda, and set out to conquer the highlands, taking Naḡrān, al-Djawi, and al-Zāhir before marching against Ṣanʿāʾ. In 545/1150-51 he attacked and defeated Ḥamid al-Dawla, but was unable to seize Ṣanʿāʾ from the Hamdānids.

On the death of Ḥamid al-Dawla in 556/1161 control over Ṣanʿāʾ passed to his son, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, during whose reign the Mahdīd [q.v.] ruler of Zabīd in the Tihāma began his campaigns for territorial conquest and the spread of the apostate religious doctrines instituted by his father, ʿAlī b. Mahdī (d. 554/1159). In 568/1172-73 the Mahdīd attacked the Zurayʿid [q.v.] ruler of ʿAdan by laying siege to the city. The Zurayʿids, unable to withstand the Mahdīds alone, requested and received the assistance of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim and that of two other Hamdānid tribes of the highlands. In a series of encounters during the first part of 569/1173 the Mahdīd was driven back to the Tihāma by the allies.

Shortly after the return of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim to Ṣanʿāʾ the Ayyūbids under Turān Shāh reached the outskirts of the city in their conquest of Yemen. ʿAlī fled to the safety of his mountain fortress leaving the city open to the invaders, and with the capture

of Ṣan'ā' by the Ayyūbids in 570/1174-75 the Fāṭimid rule of the Hamdānids of nearly a century came to a close.

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(C. L. GEDDES)

HAMDĀNIDS, Taghlibī Arab family which, in the 4th/10th century, provided two minor dynasties, which arose, owing to the decadence of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, in Mesopotamia or *Djazira* (Mosul) and in Syria (Aleppo), and whose most distinguished representative was the *amir* of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla.

The Hamdānids are descended from 'Adī b. Usāma . . . b. Taghlib, which is why they are called Taghlibīs and 'Adawīs (see their genealogical tree in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, C, 32 and in M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdānides de Jazira et de Syrie*, I, Algiers 1951, 287-8; cf. the appendix to the edition of the *Diwān* of Abū Firās by S. Dahan, Beirut 1944). They came originally from Barka'īd in the eastern part of the *Djazira* (on Barka'īd, see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 105).

The first Hamdānids. The first member of the family on whom historical information is available is Hamdān b. Hamdūn b. al-Ḥārith, who appears in 254/868 with other Taghlibīs in an army which was fighting against the Khāridjīs of *Djazira*, but is found from 266/879-80 onwards, and particularly in 272/885-6, among the Khāridjīs, whence his nickname of al-Shārī. In 279/892-3, at the time when al-Mu'taǧid assumed power and decided to re-establish the authority of the caliph in *Djazira*, Hamdān b. Hamdūn was in possession of certain places there, including Māridīn, and, on the left bank of the Tigris, Ardumush̄t (on this place see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 112 and *passim*). In 282/895, the caliph seized Māridīn, which Hamdān had left; then his troops took Ardumush̄t, which Hamdān's son, Ḥusayn, who had been left to guard the fortress while his father fled, yielded to the caliph's forces, himself going over to the caliph's side. After a vigorous pursuit along both banks of the Tigris, Hamdān gave himself up to the caliph outside Mosul and was imprisoned. (On this episode, see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 301-2; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *apud* Lang, *Mu'taǧid als Prinz und Regent* . . ., in *ZDMG*, xli, 243; Abū Firās, *Diwān*, ed. Dahan, 148, in the great *kaṣida* which he wrote in praise of his family.)

His son Ḥusayn b. Hamdān, now on the side of the caliph, gave the latter valuable support in the fighting against the Khāridjīs and their leader Hārūn al-Shārī. It was due to him that Hārūn was captured, and the grateful caliph rewarded him by pardoning his father Hamdān and granting him the command of a corps of Taghlibī horsemen, which several members of the family joined. He took part in the fighting in the *Djabal* against Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf [see *DULAFIDS*] in 283/896, and in the expeditions against the Ḳarmāṭīs. During the caliphate of al-Muktafi, he was responsible in 291/903, under the orders of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *ṣāhib diwān al-djaysk*, for the victory in Syria over the Ṣāhib al-Khāl, who was captured. He also took part in Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's expedition in which he re-conquered Egypt from the last Ṭūlūnid ruler in 292/904-5, refusing to accept the governorship of Egypt. He again fought the Ḳarmāṭīs in Syria in

295/907-8. Having taken part in the conspiracy to put Ibn al-Mu'tazz on the throne in 296/December 908, he fled after the plot failed. His brother, Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' 'Abd Allāh b. Hamdān, was ordered to pursue him but was unable to overtake him. Ḥusayn finally asked for *amān* through the mediation of his brother Ibrāhīm, which was granted. He was even appointed governor of Kumm and Kāshān in the *Djabal*. He returned to Baghdād and received in 298/910-11 the governorship of the Diyār Rabi'a. But he quarrelled with the vizier 'Alī b. 'Isā, revolted, and was captured by the eunuch Mu'nīs in 303/916. He was imprisoned, and put to death in 306/918 in circumstances which are obscure, perhaps as the result of a Shi'i conspiracy in which he is said to have taken part while in prison, for he had pronounced Shi'i sympathies (see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 330-1, 338-9).

Ḥusayn's brothers, 'Abd Allāh Abu 'l-Hayḍjā', Ibrāhīm, Dāwūd and Sa'īd, had remained loyal to the caliph. The first had been appointed governor of Mosul in 293/905-6. He subdued the Kurds of the region, directed, as has been said, the operations against his brother Ḥusayn in 297, but in 301/913-4 was dismissed for reasons which are not clear, revolted, but then gave himself up to Mu'nīs, was pardoned and was re-instated as governor of Mosul in 302/914-5. He was under suspicion at the time of Ḥusayn's revolt in 303, and for a time both he and his brother Ibrāhīm were imprisoned. Soon he was again given a command in the army, and fought under Mu'nīs against Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Sāǧī, the governor of Ḍḥarbayḍjān and Armenia, who revolted in 307/919. His brother Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of the Diyār Rabi'a in 307 (being succeeded, on his death in 308, by his brother Dāwūd); while Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' was appointed in 308/920 governor of the Ṭarīk Khurāsān and Dinawar and was re-appointed in 313/925-6 to the governorship of Mosul as well, to which were shortly added the regions of Bāzabdā and of Ḳardā on the left bank of the Tigris. Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' was to retain these positions until his death in 317/929; in the history of the caliphate he played an active political and military rôle which took him away from Mosul, where he left as his lieutenant his son al-Ḥasan, the future Naṣir al-Dawla. In 311/923-4 he was given the task of ensuring the security of the Pilgrimage route: on his return he was attacked by the Ḳarmāṭī Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān and taken prisoner, but was freed in 312/928. In 315/927-8, the Ḳarmāṭīs had reached 'Ayn al-Tamr near al-Anbār on the Euphrates and presented a serious threat to Baghdād. Abu 'l-Hayḍjā', with his three brothers Sulaymān, Sa'īd and Naṣr, served in the army sent to halt the Ḳarmāṭīs. According to one tradition, it was due to the initiative of Abu 'l-Hayḍjā', who persuaded the commander of the army to destroy the bridge over the Nahr Zubāra, that Baghdād was saved and the Ḳarmāṭīs forced to turn their attentions elsewhere.

However, Hārūn b. Ḡharīb, the son of the maternal uncle of the caliph al-Muktaḍir, was ambitious to take the place of the commander-in-chief, the eunuch Mu'nīs, who was friendly to the Hamdānids. Having obtained the governorship of the *Djabal*, he dismissed Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' from his governorship of Dinawar. Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' then came with his troops to Baghdād. He took part in the conspiracy which came to a head at the beginning of 317/February 929 and whose aim was to overthrow al-Muktaḍir and to replace him by his brother Muḥammad al-Ḳāhir. Working closely with the chief of police, Nāzūk, he played a very

important part in the conspiracy and it was he who installed al-Ḳāhīr in the palace and procured al-Muḳtadir's abdication; at the same time, keeping his own interests in view, he caused to be bestowed on himself the governorship of a wide area. But there arose a counter-revolt; the new caliph was besieged in his palace and Abu 'l-Hayḍiā died heroically defending al-Ḳāhīr to the end. Al-Muḳtadir, returned to power, evinced the most profound grief at Abu 'l-Hayḍiā's death.

Abu 'l-Hayḍiā was at this period the most notable member of the Ḥamdānīd family. His great qualities of valour and generosity and his frank and independent spirit commanded respect and were universally esteemed. But he possessed also the spirit of intrigue which was characteristic of the great feudal lords of the time and he was finally the cause of his own undoing. Abū Firās gives him an important place in his *ḥaṣīda* and praises his powerful sword-strokes. Like Ḥusayn, and probably the whole family, he had definite *Shī'ī* tendencies, which were to re-appear in his son Sayf al-Dawla: Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions that he was responsible for the restoration of the tomb of 'Alī at Kūfa (on Abu 'l-Hayḍiā, see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 341-76, and on his brothers, *ibid.*, 378-81).

Abu 'l-Hayḍiā's two sons were to be the most famous members of the Ḥamdānīd family and, inheriting their father's prestige, were to follow his political example and to make renowned the two emirates, Mosul and Aleppo, which they governed. But Abu 'l-Hayḍiā may be considered as the founder of the emirate of Mosul and of the Ḥamdānīd dynasty.

The Ḥamdānīd emirate of Mosul. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, the son of Abu 'l-Hayḍiā and the future Nāṣir al-Dawla, had at first some difficulty in making himself *amīr* of Mosul. On his father's death he inherited only a part of his domains, on the left bank of the Tigris, his claim to Mosul being denied. He regained it in 318/930, however, but was deprived of it again as a result of the intrigues of his uncles, Naṣr and Sa'īd, who left him only the western part of the Diyār Rabī'a. In 322/934 he again became master of Mosul and of the Diyār Rabī'a, but was ousted once again by his uncle Sa'īd, who was intriguing against him from Baghdād. He therefore rid himself of him by a villainous murder, then Mosul was re-occupied by the troops of the vizier Ibn Muḳla. Ḥasan, who had fled to Armenia, prepared from there the re-conquest of Mosul. He defeated the lieutenants of the caliph and of the rival Taghlibī clan, the Banū Ḥabīb, who had sided with the caliph against him. At the beginning of 324/end of 935, the caliph al-Rāḍī finally appointed him governor of Mosul and of the three provinces of the *Djazira* (Diyār Rabī'a, Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr). He nevertheless had to fight, with the help of his younger brother 'Alī, the future Sayf al-Dawla, in order to wrest Diyār Bakr from one of his former auxiliaries, a Daylamī, and Diyār Muḍar from some *Ḳaysī* tribes and an officer of the caliph. In 936 he was master of the whole of the *Djazira* and henceforward was to be able to give free rein to his ambitions.

The crisis in the caliphate which had forced the caliph al-Rāḍī to hand over his powers to an *amīr al-umārā'* gave rise to rivalry among all the candidates for this position. Ḥasan, with the power which the possession of a rich province gave him, desired the position and engaged in a conflict with the *amīr al-umārā'*, Baḍīkam [*q.v.*], who tried unsuccessfully to dispossess him of Mosul. At one moment Ḥasan gave his

support to another *amīr al-umārā'*, Ibn Rā'īk, and to the caliph al-Muttaḳī, who were being threatened by the ambitious Aḥmad al-Barīdī of Baṣra, but then had Ibn Rā'īk assassinated and himself took his place at Baghdād in 330/942 after having brought back the caliph to his capital (4 June 942). He had earlier received the title of Nāṣir al-Dawla (Defender of the dynasty), while his brother 'Alī, who, with his cousin Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd b. Ḥamdān, had helped him, received that of Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the dynasty). Nāṣir al-Dawla governed the attenuated 'Abbāsīd empire for about a year, but had to give up the position to one of his officers who had led a revolt against him, the Turk Tūzūn, and returned to Mosul. The caliph al-Muttaḳī quarrelled with Tūzūn and put himself under the protection of the Ḥamdānīd, but the latter, after being defeated by Tūzūn, abandoned the caliph who, after trying to gain the protection of the *Ikhshīd* of Egypt, who was master of Syria, returned to Baghdād. Nāṣir al-Dawla then concluded in 332/944 a pact with Tūzūn which assured him the governorship of the *Djazira*. Next he unsuccessfully opposed the Buwayhid Mu'izz al-Dawla when in 334/January 946 the latter took possession of the capital, and concluded an agreement with him in 335/946. He was confirmed in his possessions and the Buwayhid even supported him when his troops revolted. But twice there was conflict between them, in 337/948-9 and in 347/958-9, because of the Ḥamdānīd's refusal to fulfil his financial obligations to the central power as represented by the Buwayhid. In 347 Nāṣir al-Dawla even had to take refuge with his brother Sayf al-Dawla, the master of Aleppo (from 336/948, see below), until the signing of a new treaty which Mu'izz al-Dawla concluded with Sayf al-Dawla, regarding Nāṣir al-Dawla as the subordinate of his brother. Nāṣir al-Dawla was once again driven out of Mosul by Mu'izz al-Dawla, and for the same reasons, in 353/964, but he was able to make a victorious return there with his sons. However, Mu'izz al-Dawla would have dealings only with Abū Taghlib, the eldest son of Nāṣir al-Dawla, who was already beginning to follow a policy of his own.

This year 353 marks the decline of the power of Nāṣir al-Dawla, who, now old and in conflict with his sons, was deposed by them and exiled in 356/967 to Ardumush, where he died in 358/969.

Nāṣir al-Dawla's power had extended over the Diyār Rabī'a, Mosul, the districts on the left bank of the Tigris, and Raḥba in the Diyār Muḍar. As we shall see, he had left the Diyār Bakr to his brother Sayf al-Dawla, who also held the greater part of the Diyār Muḍar. At the beginning of his reign, Nāṣir al-Dawla had made two unsuccessful attempts, in 324/935-6 and in 333/944, to extend his domination to *Ādharbayḍān*. His penetration into Armenia in 323/935 when he was forced to leave Mosul (see above) was also only temporary, and it is doubtful whether he was able to make his authority recognized there as Sayf al-Dawla did later. In the Byzantine war Nāṣir al-Dawla played only a part of little importance (on the reign of Nāṣir al-Dawla see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 377-407, 409-52, 507-39, and art. NĀSIR AL-DAWLA).

He was succeeded by his son Faḍl Allāh Abū Taghlib al-Ḡhaḍanfār. Abū Taghlib came into conflict first with his brother Ḥamdān, who alone had opposed the removal of Nāṣir al-Dawla and who had a certain amount of power at his command, for he held the governorship of Nisibis in the Diyār Rabī'a, of Māridīn and of Raḥba in the Diyār Muḍar, and he

had in addition seized Raḡḡa and Rāfiḡa after the death of Sayf al-Dawla of Aleppo. In order to fight against Ḥamdān, Abū Taghlib made an agreement with Bakhtiyār, who had succeeded Mu'izz al-Dawla at Baghdād, and Ḥamdān was forced to abandon his possessions and to flee to Baghdād. Bakhtiyār succeeded in procuring his return to Raḡba in 359/970; but the war between the two brothers recommenced, resulting in a battle, in which Ḥamdān mortally wounded another of his brothers, and in further quarrels in the Ḥamdānid family, several members of which abandoned Abū Taghlib. Ḥamdān was defeated, however, and again obliged to flee to Baghdād where he was joined at the end of 360/971 by his brother Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm.

Abū Taghlib did not on the other hand enter into conflict with his cousin at Aleppo, Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Sharif, the successor of Sayf al-Dawla, who, having difficulties in Syria, tacitly accepted the nominal suzerainty of the emirate of Mosul over that of Aleppo which had been granted to Abū Taghlib by the caliph al-Mu'ti', thus continuing the state of affairs which had existed during the time of Nāṣir al-Dawla. Nor did he oppose Abū Taghlib's seizure of the Diyār Bakr and the Diyār Muḡar.

But Abū Taghlib's chief opponent was the Buwayhid Bakhtiyār, master of the caliphate and the representative of the central power to which the Ḥamdānid had to pay tribute. Hostility between the two was inevitable, especially as the Ḥamdānid's ambition was to play in Baghdād the rôle which had formerly been played by his father Nāṣir al-Dawla, and also as two of his brothers were there, one of whom especially, Ḥamdān, was urging Bakhtiyār to drive Abū Taghlib out of Mosul. At first Abū Taghlib and Bakhtiyār followed a policy of alliance, which showed itself in their common attitude towards the Ḳarmanīs and the Fāṭimids, but in 368/973, prompted by Ḥamdān, Bakhtiyār undertook the conquest of Mosul and marched on the town. A shrewd move by Abū Taghlib in the direction of Baghdād led Bakhtiyār to negotiate. The terms of the agreement, which contained one clause requiring the Ḥamdānid to keep Baghdād supplied with wheat, were observed by neither side and hostilities recommenced, ending in a new agreement in 974. Relations then improved, and Abū Taghlib, to whom Bakhtiyār had persuaded the caliph to grant the *lakab* of 'Uddat al-Dawla, gave the Buwayhid his support against the rebel Turkish leaders and advanced even as far as Baghdād. But it was due to the intervention of the Buwayhid of Shīrāz, 'Aḡud al-Dawla (the son of Rukn al-Dawla of Rayy), that Bakhtiyār was restored to his throne at Baghdād. In 364/975 Abū Taghlib obtained a new treaty, which freed him from the payment of tribute. When 'Aḡud al-Dawla attempted, in 367/977, to gain for himself Bakhtiyār's position at Baghdād and to send the latter to seek a new fortune in Syria, Abū Taghlib gave his support to Bakhtiyār, who was trying to recapture Baghdād, on condition that his brother Ḥamdān, who was with Bakhtiyār, was handed over to him; he then had Ḥamdān put to death. But the troops of Bakhtiyār and Abū Taghlib were defeated by 'Aḡud al-Dawla in 367/978. The Buwayhid seized Mosul and forced Abū Taghlib to flee. He reached Nišibis, then Mayyāfāriḡin, then Arzan and Armenia, then Ḥiṣn Ziyād in the Byzantine territory of Anzītene held by the Byzantine rebel Skleros, hoping to obtain his help by forming an alliance with him. But his hopes were disappointed; he returned towards Amid without encountering any opposition

from the Buwayhid troops who were engaged in besieging Mayyāfāriḡin. After the capture of this town in 368/978, Abū Taghlib no longer felt secure and turned towards Raḡba. From there he tried in vain to reach an agreement with 'Aḡud al-Dawla, who was now master of the greater part of the *Djāzira*, and decided to continue into Syria into Fāṭimid territory, while the Buwayhid army arrived to occupy the Diyār Muḡar. Avoiding passing through the territory of his cousin at Aleppo, Sa'd al-Dawla, who had acknowledged the suzerainty of 'Aḡud al-Dawla and had been invited by him to arrest the fugitive, he managed to reach the Ḥawrān. He hoped to enter Damascus and to obtain from the Fāṭimid caliph the governorship of this town, which at that time was in the hands of a rebel, al-Ḳassām. But the latter prevented him from entering the town and Abū Taghlib, after some skirmishes, headed southwards and reached Kafr 'Aḡib on the Lake of Tiberias. He began negotiations with the Fāṭimid general Faḡl and promised to help him to reconquer Damascus. But Faḡl had undertaken to support Mufarriḡ b. Daḡḡal b. al-Djarrāh, the master of Ramla, who was disturbed by the presence and the ambitions of Abū Taghlib. Faḡl, violating his agreements, on the contrary promised Ramla to Abū Taghlib. Finally Abū Taghlib joined forces with the enemies of Mufarriḡ, the Banū 'Uḡayl, and with them embarked on an action against him. Mufarriḡ then appealed to Faḡl. In the ensuing battle Abū Taghlib was taken prisoner by Mufarriḡ and put to death (369/979).

Abū Taghlib had had to endure violent Byzantine attacks in 361-2/972, but in the following year his lieutenant took prisoner the Domesticus Melias, who died in captivity. In 974, the Emperor in revenge ravaged Mesopotamia. It appears that about this time Abū Taghlib paid tribute to the Empire. At the time of the revolt of Skleros, after the death of John Tzimiskes in 976, the Byzantine rebel relied on the help of Abū Taghlib, with whom he concluded a pact, and we have seen that in 368/978 he spent some time at Ḥiṣn Ziyād, the headquarters of Skleros (on the reign of Abū Taghlib see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 541-77, 838 ff.).

The Ḥamdānid dynasty of Mosul ended tragically. It had indeed led a rather precarious existence from the time of the arrival at Baghdād of Mu'izz al-Dawla.

Abū Taghlib's sister, *Djamila*, who had fled with her brother, also met a tragic end. One tradition had it that she took her life after being handed over to 'Aḡud al-Dawla. The other members of the Ḥamdānid family at Mosul, notably Abū Taghlib's two brothers Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn and Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm, transferred their allegiance to the Buwayhid. After the death of 'Aḡud al-Dawla, a Kurdish *amir*, Bāḡh, had taken possession of the Diyār Bakr. In order to halt Bāḡh's attempts to gain the remainder of the *Djāzira*, the Buwayhid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, who had come to the throne in 379/989, authorized the two brothers to return to Mosul. They attempted there to regain power and fought against Bāḡh with the help of the Banū 'Uḡayl. Bāḡh was killed in a battle against Ḥusayn in the region of Balad. Bāḡh's successor, his nephew Abū 'Alī b. Marwān, carried on the struggle against the two brothers and took Ḥusayn prisoner, but released him on the intervention of the Fāṭimid caliph al-'Azīz, who received him in Syria and made him governor of Tyre in 387/997. Another of Abū Taghlib's brothers, Abū 'l-Muṭa' *Dhu* 'l-Ḳarnayn, also entered the service of the Fāṭimid, and became governor of Damascus

in 401/1010-1. Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm was arrested and put to death by the 'Uḡaylid *amīr* with whom he had fought against Bādh. Mosul then passed into the power of an 'Uḡaylid dynasty.

One of Ḥusayn's grandsons, Ḥusayn Abū Muḥammad, who like his ancestor bore the title Nāṣir al-Dawla, played an important rôle in Egypt in the reign of al-Mustanṣir, first as governor of Syria, then in Cairo during the disturbances of 459/1065 and the following years. He was at one moment absolute master in Cairo, tried to re-establish the 'Abbāsīd suzerainty there and deprived the caliph of all authority. He died in 465/1072, the victim, with his brother Faḫr al-'Arab, of a conspiracy [see FĀṬIMIDS, AL-MUSTANṢIR and NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA].

The Ḥamdānīd emirate of Aleppo. The formation of the Ḥamdānīd emirate of Aleppo was the work of 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Haydīā 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, Sayf al-Dawla. After the assassination of Ibn Rāḥīq, Nāṣir al-Dawla had tried to gain control of his fief of the Diyār Muḍar and of northern Syria. But the lieutenants whom he sent there had only a precarious authority and were disposed to render allegiance to the Iḫshīd. In 332/944, the caliph, who was under the protection of the Ḥamdānīd, sought the support of the Iḫshīd and tried to go to Syria. Fearing that the whole of Syria and the Diyār Muḍar would fall into the hands of the Iḫshīd, Nāṣir al-Dawla sent troops under the command of Ḥusayn b. Sa'd b. Ḥamdān, who gained control of Aleppo. The caliph left for Raḡḡa, accompanied, or rather escorted, by Sayf al-Dawla who had left Nisibis with him. However, the Iḫshīd, who had driven Ḥusayn b. Sa'd out of Aleppo, had arrived at Raḡḡa, to meet the caliph there. The caliph received the Iḫshīd and confirmed him in the possession of Syria. Then the Iḫshīd, who had refused to commit himself further, returned to Egypt, while the caliph retraced his steps to Baghdād. As the authority of the administrators whom the Iḫshīd had appointed in northern Syria seemed rather precarious, Sayf al-Dawla decided to seize northern Syria, with the help of troops and money supplied by his brother. He entered Aleppo in Rabī' I 333/October 944, by arrangement with the Kilābis of the region and without any fighting. Then the Iḫshīd reacted; after a war of more than two years, interrupted in 334/945 by a truce which the death of the Iḫshīd encouraged Sayf al-Dawla to repudiate, a definitive peace was concluded between the Ḥamdānīd and the son and successor of the Iḫshīd, Unuḡūr, and in 336/947 Sayf al-Dawla became master of a state which comprised northern Syria (*djund* of Ḥimṣ and of Ḳinnasrīn, 'Awāṣim), the Syrian frontier marches, which submitted to him in 335/946, and the greater part of the Diyār Muḍar and the Diyār Bakr (see above). This Syro-Mesopotamian state remained theoretically subordinate to that of Mosul, Nāṣir al-Dawla being the elder, but in practice it was territorially and politically more important, and Sayf al-Dawla (who until then had fought for Nāṣir al-Dawla in 'Irāq, in Mesopotamia, even in Armenia, where in 328/940 he had received the submission of the Armenian princes, and against the Byzantines) became in fact independent of him and of the caliph.

From the time he became master of Aleppo, responsible for the defence of the Syro-Mesopotamian frontier (which extended from Cilicia to *Shimshāt* and to *Kālīkalā* in Armenia), Sayf al-Dawla's main task was the war against the Byzantines; but he had also to fight against the rebel tribes in Syria. He

built himself a splendid palace outside Aleppo, his main capital, the second being Mayyāfārīḳīn, on which too he lavished every care. He gathered round him a number of members of his family, including his cousin Abū Fīrās, whom he had made governor of Manbiḡ, and formed for himself a court made famous by the poets who were attached to it. He reigned in Aleppo from 336/947 until 356/967. The first period of his reign was marked by successes both within the realm and outside it, but in the later period, from 350/961-2 onwards, he suffered serious reverses—the temporary occupation of his capital by the Byzantines, the loss of Cilicia, internal disturbances and rebellions, and finally his own illness (hemiplegia). He died at Aleppo in Ṣafar 356/February 967, aged 51. Nevertheless the brilliance which he conferred on the emirate of Aleppo by his military victories and by his cultural influence, and through the poets and the prose-writers of what has been called the "circle of Sayf al-Dawla", has made him one of the most famous rulers of Islam. Without going into detail, we refer the reader to the article SAYF AL-DAWLA, which will deal with his campaigns against the Byzantines and against the tribes, the beginnings and the end of his career, his internal and external policy and his cultural rôle (on him see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 489-505, 596-663, 741-827. Ulla S. Linder Welin, *Sayf al-Dawla's reign in Syria and Diyārbekr in the light of the numismatic evidence*, offprint from *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, i, Lund 1961, deals with the political events as reflected in the coins issued by Sayf al-Dawla).

Sayf al-Dawla's successor was his son Sa'd al-Dawla Abū 'l-Ma'ālī, who at that time was at Mayyāfārīḳīn and did not arrive in Aleppo until June-July 967. He was the son of the sister of Abū Fīrās al-Ḥarīṯh ibn Abī 'l-'Alā' Sa'd and was only 15 years of age. He had to face the rebellion of Abū Fīrās, his father's cousin, who was at that time governor of Ḥimṣ. Abū Fīrās was killed in battle in 357/April 968. After this Sa'd al-Dawla had to leave Aleppo because of the threat of the Byzantine armies, which at the end of 968 reached as far as Ḥimṣ and Tripoli but did not, however, trouble Aleppo, where Sa'd al-Dawla had left his chamberlain (*ḥāḏīb*) Ḳarḡūyah, who had been his father's chamberlain and had already governed Aleppo during the absence of Sayf al-Dawla. Sa'd al-Dawla was unable to return to Aleppo as soon as the disturbance was over because Ḳarḡūyah, ambitious to seize power for himself, had come out in open rebellion (358/968). The young *amīr*, deprived of Aleppo by Ḳarḡūyah and of Raḡḡa by Abū Taghlib, wandered from Saruḡḡi to Ḥarrān, Mayyāfārīḳīn and Manbiḡ, whence he advanced towards Aleppo. But he had to retreat before the presence of the Byzantine forces. In fact, Peter the Stratopedarch and Michael Bourtzes had taken Antioch at the end of 358/October 969, and Peter the Stratopedarch had entered Aleppo and imposed on Ḳarḡūyah a treaty making Aleppo a Byzantine protectorate (Ṣafar 359/December 969-January 970) which excluded Sa'd al-Dawla from the emirate of Aleppo in favour of Ḳarḡūyah and, after him, of his lieutenant Bakḏjūr. Sa'd al-Dawla obtained refuge at Ḥimṣ, whence he succeeded in returning to Aleppo only in 367/977, after Ḳarḡūyah had been removed by his lieutenant Bakḏjūr.

At first Sa'd al-Dawla's authority extended only over the Syrian provinces, Abū Taghlib having in 360/971 seized the whole of the *Djazīra*. However, by

recognizing the suzerainty of the Buwayhid 'Aḍud al-Dawla in 368/979 (which gained for him from the caliph the *laḡab* of Sa'd al-Dawla), he succeeded in recovering the Diyār Muḍar, with the exception of Raḡba and Raḡka, from Abū Taghlib, now a fugitive. He had appointed Bakdjūr governor of Ḥims, but he lost no time in entering into conflict with him. Bakdjūr relied for help on the Fātimid, who had promised him the governorship of Damascus and whose plan was to take advantage of the enmity between Bakdjūr and Sa'd al-Dawla to seize the emirate of Aleppo for himself. In order to fight against Bakdjūr, Sa'd al-Dawla relied on the help of the Byzantines, who, in 371/981-2, had just sent an army to Aleppo to remind the *amir* of his obligations under the treaty of 359, which from then on he was obliged to fulfil more or less scrupulously. It was a Byzantine army which, in 373/983, forced Bakdjūr, who had come to lay siege to Aleppo, to raise the siege, and which also returned Ḥims to Sa'd al-Dawla. The conflict between Bakdjūr and Sa'd al-Dawla ceased during the time that Bakdjūr, driven out of Ḥims, was governor of Damascus for the Fātimid caliph al-'Aziz, particularly as Sa'd al-Dawla, no longer able to rely on support from the Buwayhids whose power was then in decline, made overtures to the Fātimid caliph and recognized his sovereignty in 376/986. But hostilities recommenced when Bakdjūr, engaged in conflict with the Fātimid vizier Ibn Killis, was obliged to abandon Damascus and installed himself at Raḡka, whence he marched against Aleppo. He received little support from the Fātimid, whereas Sa'd al-Dawla received Byzantine reinforcements, and he was defeated at Nā'ira to the east of Aleppo in 381/991, captured and executed. But Sa'd al-Dawla quarrelled with the Fātimid caliph over the arrest of Bakdjūr's children, which was done contrary to a promise that he had given, and if he had not died in Shawwāl 381/December 991, like his father of hemiplegia, he would certainly have attacked the Fātimid possessions in Syria, as he had haughtily threatened the Fātimid ambassador that he would do.

Sa'd al-Dawla's policy had been to manoeuvre among Byzantium, the Buwayhid and the Fātimid. He was not absolutely loyal either to the Fātimid or to the Emperor, for in 375/985 the Emperor had to invade his territory because he was not fulfilling his obligations. Sa'd al-Dawla avenged himself for this intervention, which had led to the capture of Killis and the bombardment of Apamea and of Kafarṭāb, by sending Karghūyah against the monastery of Dayr Sam'ān [q.v.] where he massacred a great number of monks and led others in captivity to Aleppo. However, a new agreement was concluded in 376/May 986, which did not prevent Sa'd al-Dawla from supporting the rebel Skleros when the latter was set free by the Buwayhid at the end of 986, and in addition from recognizing at the same time (December 986) Fātimid suzerainty. In internal affairs he had only a precarious authority (on all this see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 665-94).

Sa'd al-Dawla was succeeded by his son Sa'd Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Sa'd al-Dawla. The history of his reign is almost exclusively that of the attempts of Fātimid Egypt to gain the emirate of Aleppo, which were opposed by the Byzantine emperor. A first attempt in 382/992 by the Fātimid general Mangūtekin, who laid siege to Aleppo, failed, less by reason of the operations of Bourtzes, the Byzantine governor of Antioch, than because of Mangūtekin's lack of vigour and the excellent resistance of Aleppo. A

second attempt by the same Mangūtekin in 384/944 was almost successful, for Bourtzes, to whom Sa'd al-Dawla and his minister Lu'lu', the former chamberlain of Sa'd al-Dawla, appealed for help, was defeated at the Ford of the Orontes, and Aleppo was besieged for about eleven months. But on the one hand the persistence of Lu'lu' and on the other the arrival of the emperor Basil II in person, sent for from Bulgaria by a Ḥamdānid ambassador, in the spring of 995, forced Mangūtekin to retreat. The Ḥamdānid *amir* and Lu'lu' humbly prostrated themselves before the emperor in gratitude for this. Later, the Egyptians extended their authority further and further over the emirate of Aleppo. In 388/998 they even defeated the Byzantines outside Apamea, which remained in Egyptian hands. In 389/999 a new Byzantine campaign, which advanced as far as Beirut, strengthened the defence of Aleppo against the Egyptians by the establishment of a Byzantine garrison at Shayzar. But in 391/1001 Basil II concluded a peace treaty with the Fātimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who, on his side, signed a treaty with the *amir* of Aleppo.

After this the emirate of Aleppo steadily declined. After the beginning of the reign of Sa'd al-Dawla, a large number of Ḥamdānid *ghulāms* had passed into the service of Egypt. Lu'lu' aimed to seize entirely the power which he was in fact already wielding, for he completely dominated Sa'd al-Dawla, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. He therefore had Sa'd al-Dawla assassinated in 392/1002. From then on he held the power, which he shared with his son Maṣṣūr. In 394/1003-4, he rid himself of the members of the Ḥamdānid family: the two sons of Sa'd al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī and Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sharīf, were exiled to Cairo; a son of Sa'd al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Hayḍjā', fled, disguised as a woman, to the court of the emperor Basil.

Lu'lu' died in 399/1008. His son Maṣṣūr succeeded him and received investiture from the Fātimid caliph with the title of Murtaḍā al-Dawla (the Approved of the dynasty). His reign was marked by an attempt to restore the Ḥamdānids in the person of Abu 'l-Hayḍjā', the son of Sa'd al-Dawla. At the request of a large faction at Aleppo, his brother-in-law, the Marwānid Mumahhid al-Dawla of the Diyār Bakr, obtained the Emperor's permission for Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' to leave Constantinople. He reached Mayyāfārīḳin, whence he marched with a small army on Aleppo. But he was not given the Emperor's support. Maṣṣūr b. Lu'lu' enticed over to his side the Kilābis who had joined Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' and obtained in addition Egyptian help, for he was scarcely more than a Fātimid governor. The defeated Abu 'l-Hayḍjā' fled towards Malatya and from there returned to Constantinople. The Emperor wished to send him back into Muslim territory but Maṣṣūr intervened to persuade the Emperor to keep him with him. It is probable that he was converted to Christianity and served in the Byzantine army, for there exists his seal with on one side his name in Arabic and on the other the representation of a person who seems to wear his hair in military style and to wear a belt with a legend in Greek: Hagios Theodoros (Saint Theodore Stratiates?). (See Halil Edhem, *Sceaux du Musée de Constantinople*, 1321, 42, no. 31).

By a curious trick of fate, Maṣṣūr b. Lu'lu', after he had been dethroned by Šālih b. Mirdās in 406/1015-6, also took refuge in Byzantine territory and received as a fief the castle of Shīḥ al-Laylūn, near to the frontier; he also made an unsuccessful attempt to return to Aleppo and served in the Byzantine army, for he appears on the side of Romanus Argyrus

at the battle of A'zâz in 421/1030 (see Kamâl al-Dîn, *Zubdat al-halab*, ed. Dahan, *sub anno*; cf. M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 709-11 and 859).

Thus ended, after that of the Hammadîds of Mosul, the dynasty of the Hammadîds of Aleppo. Both were of a character uncommon at this time, in that they were Arab dynasties. Both played an important political rôle; they had their period of greatness which was followed by decline. The historian of Mayyâfâriqîn, Ibn al-Azraq, has given a melancholy account of this (see M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla. Recueil de textes*, 1934, 279-80). The patronage of Nâsir al-Dawla and of Sayf al-Dawla favoured in Mosul and Aleppo a remarkable literary development. The names of Ibn Nubâta, of Kûshâdjîm, of al-Nâmi, al-Sari, Babbâghâ, Abû Firâs, of al-Mutanabbî and others will always be associated with the Hammadîd dynasty. The Hammadîds have been praised, by writers impressed by their efforts in the Holy War, by their Arab qualities of courage and generosity and by the ostentation with which they surrounded themselves, and they retained enormous prestige. But they have also had their critics. In their own time, Ibn Hawkal (119-20, 140 ff., 153-4) did not spare them his criticisms, for he was outspoken in his judgement of their tyrannical administration and their cupidity. Of present day writers, Kurd 'Alî has also reacted against the unbounded admiration which the Arab world has accorded them.

Bibliography: The outstanding study of Freytag, *Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden in Mosul und Aleppo*, in ZDMG, x (1856) and xi (1857), although now out of date, remains of importance. See now M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hammadîdes de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers-Paris 1951, with bibl. in the introd., 15-71. Information on the members of the family is given also in Abû Firâs, *Diwân*, ed. S. Dahan, Beirut 1944, index. (M. CANARD)

HAMDÎ, HAMD ALLÂH (853/1449-909/1503), Turkish poet, born at Göynük near Bolu. He was the youngest of the twelve (or seven) sons of the famous *shaykh* Aḳ Shams al-Dîn [q.v.], who had succeeded Hâdjîdî Bayram as the superior of the Bayrâmiyya. Hamdî lost his father at the age of ten. He had an unhappy childhood, which probably inspired him to write his famous *mathnawî* *Yûsuf we Zûleykhâ*. In the introductory part of this work he relates that his lazy, ignorant and quarrelsome brothers ill-treated him and were jealous of him because of the great affection their father Aḳ Shams al-Dîn showed him. "Joseph reached the extremity of his misfortunes, there is no end to my suffering" (*Yûsuf we Zûleykhâ*, Istanbul, MS Üniversite T.Y. 675, fols. 11b-12a). Although he has nothing laudatory to say of his brothers, some of them are mentioned in the sources as outstanding 'ulemâ' (Hüseyn Enîsi, *Menâkıb-i Aḳ Shams al-Dîn* and Taşhköprü-zâde, *al-Shaḳâ'îk al-nu'mâniyye*, *passim*).

Very little is known about his early life and his education. Judging by his works and by the fact that he was for a short time *mudarris* at the *madrasa* of Meḥammed I in Bursa, he must have had a classical training. From various complaints and remarks scattered in his works, particularly in his *mathnawî* *Leylâ we Meḍînûn* (Istanbul, MS Üniversite T.Y. 800, fol. 110) it seems evident that Hamdî did not enjoy protection or encouragement from any sultan, vizier or other dignitary. According to some *tedhkir*-writers (Latîfi, Kînalî-zâde Ḥasan Çelebi, Beyânî, s.v.) he originally submitted his *Yûsuf we Zûleykhâ* to Bâyezîd II, with a dedicatory introduc-

tion. As there was no response from the sultan, he removed the dedication in subsequent copies and replaced it with lines complaining of Fate. During his short stay in Bursa as *mudarris*, Hamdî became a disciple of the *shaykh* İbrâhîm Tennûrî, one of his father's *khalîfas*, and retired to Göynük where he lived a secluded life. His circumstances must have been difficult as Ḥasan Çelebi reports that he made his living by copying and selling his own works. He died at Göynük where he is buried beside his father.

Apart from various treatises on religion and mysticism mentioned in the sources, which have not come down to us, Hamdî is the author of the following works: (1) *Diwân*, a small volume, copies of which are extremely rare and which is not characteristic of the poet, since Hamdî distinguished himself in the *mathnawî* genre and his conventional *ḫasîdas* and *ghazals*, mostly with a mystic leaning couched in *şûfî* terminology, are of rather limited inspiration. For a fairly good copy see Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi no. 2626; (2) *Yûsuf we Zûleykhâ*, a *mathnawî* on the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, treated in a mystical manner. Originally based on the data given in the *Kur'ân* and its commentaries, later elaborated by outstanding Persian poets, the story was made the subject of a *mathnawî* by several Eastern and Western Turkish poets. Hamdî's work, completed in 897/1492, became immensely popular and very many copies are to be found in the libraries of Turkey and Europe (for copies in Istanbul libraries see *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Hamseler Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, 22-37). Hamdî says in his work that he followed the *Yûsuf we Zûleykhâ* attributed to Firdawsî and particularly that of Djâmi. In fact most of the *mathnawî* is in line with Djâmi's with the difference that he uses the *ḫafîf* metre instead of Djâmi's *hazâjî* and he intersperses the *mathnawî* with *ghazals* following the tradition of *Shaykhî*; (3) *Leylâ we Meḍînûn*, a *mathnawî* completed in 905/1499-1500, based on the well-known legend of Arabic origin, also a parallel to Djâmi's homonymous work. Although not inferior to the *Yûsuf we Zûleykhâ* this *mathnawî* did not enjoy the same popularity and was almost ignored after Fuḍûl's (a good copy dated 936/1530 is MS Ayasofya 3901/2); (4) *Tuhfet al-'ushshâk*, an allegorical *mathnawî*, the most original of Hamdî's works. A young merchant (the human soul) sets forth from Caesarea (the sacred country), as the result of guidance by the *shaykh* Ewḥad al-Dîn, with servants and merchandise (the capabilities of the soul) for Constantinople (this sad world), where his great beauty causes the Byzantine vizier (beshrouded reason) to select him as a fitting husband for his equally beautiful daughter (bodily delight). The young merchant abandons his true faith and devotes himself to his beloved. Two sons are born to them. At a service in the church of St. Sophia, the young merchant sees his volume of the *Kur'ân* which he had placed there when he abandoned Islam. As he opens the pages of the volume, he lights on a verse exhorting those whose hearts have grown hard to return to God. The young merchant cries aloud as the light of divine guidance streams into his soul. The vizier and his daughter embrace Islam at this holy sign and all three depart for Caesarea. Since most *mathnawîs* elaborated usually one of the known and common themes of the Islamic world, this original tale does not seem to have aroused much interest, as the MSS are extremely rare (a good copy is in the British Museum, MS Or. 7115); (5) *Kîyâfet-nâme*, (the Book of Features), a short *mathnawî* in *ḫafîf* metre on the tra-